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From Malta to Venice : the Mediterranean in the 16th century in the Jew of Malta and the Merchant of Venice

A re-discovery of the Mediterranean took place for the Elizabethans in the 1580s and 90s thanks to the activity of the Levant Company. Their success in obtaining trading privileges from the Sultan Murad III in Constantinople in 1579 heralded the arrival of English merchantmen in these perilous waters after an absence of over twenty years. Such was the importance of this new development that Richard Hakluyt devoted to it the whole of the first part of his *Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation,* published in 1589. To the general public was revealed then the Janus-like nature of the Mediterranean : a place of fabulous riches and infinite refinement, a real Golden Fleece for the Elizabethan Argonauts, as well as a place of mortal danger threatening not only from the perils of waters, winds and rocks, but also from fierce pirates and privateers who did not hesitate to make galley-slaves out of the crews of captured ships. Marlowe and Shakespeare therefore in choosing a Mediterranean setting for *The Jew of Malta* and *The Merchant of Venice* were selecting a background that necessarily

reflected a most ambiguous vision of humanity, capable of the best as of the worst.

In both plays the cosmopolitan character of Mediterranean countries with their characteristic mixture of nations, races and creeds – the fruit of the Mediterranean's age-old function as a link between East and West – is used negatively to represent a constant threat of fragmentation levelled at the cherished Elizabethan ideals of unity and harmony. Both dramatists use this exotic setting in a symbolic way. They see the Mediterranean as a sea of turbulent passions whetted by the furious conflicts of trade and war, but from it emerges a rocky island or a beautiful city where some sort of higher order can be attained.

Marlowe chooses for the location of his savage tragedy Malta, one of the key fortresses in the struggle opposing Islam and Christendom, a contest that raged over the whole of the Mediterranean and transformed it into one immense battleground. On the island of Malta Marlowe presents the three warring creeds of the Mediterranean : Catholicism, Islam and Judaism, as being basically similar, for they all seem to be still attached to the paganism of the past, bound to an earth-centred materialism that limits their preoccupations to the pursuit of money and power. All of them are really infidels, still clinging to concrete forms of superstition that take the guise of outmoded texts, rites and ways of living. All are constricted by an Old Law that regulates their existence : the Jews by the Talmud and the Torah, the Turks by the Koran, the Catholics by their remunerated intercessory prayers and corrupt conventual rule. This Old Law prevents them from apprehending a higher truth, so that they all remain in bondage to the first curse, the inherent sin of humanity. Each of the three religions is like the *Speranza,* the « crazed vessel » to which Barabas entrusts his most precious cargo, each is a ship of fools, barely able to carry its adepts across the sea of life.

This helps to explain why Marlowe places his island of Malta under the aegis of Machiavelli. He is indicating thereby the domination of all three faiths by a common form of materialism that is the real essence of Mediterranean culture. The Machiavellian incitation to seize wealth and power by force or fraud is the root cause of their common debasement. It is the reason why Abigail can declare :

« there is no love on earth,
Pity in Jews, nor piety in Turks. » (III, iii, 50-51).

It leads moreover to unholy alliances being struck up between Catholic and Turk, Turk and Jew, Jew and Catholic at the expense of the innocent.

Marlowe sees trading activities as inevitably demoralising. Deprived of true spirituality, his materialistic Mediterranean countries extend their legitimate pursuits of trade and war to illegitimate ones : usury and the traffic in human flesh that takes first the form of prostitution, both inside and outside convents, and second that of the slave trade. So one of the most original aspects of the play is Marlowe's treatment of servitude as a basic characteristic of Mediterranean life. In the Mediterranean at this time all three religions accepted slavery as part of their way of life, justified by religious law, natural law and the law of nations[1]. They reduced all those they considered heretics to bondage, including their fellow Europeans, confiscating all they possessed, converting them by force if necessary, using the men as servants, galley-slaves or Janissaries, confining the women to domestic service or harems.

Marlowe had already launched a protest against Mediterranean slavery in *I Tamburlaine,* where he had described with emotion the misery of the galley-slave's existence, a protest made more indignant by the fact that it was now English sailors who could find themselves chained to the oar[2]. Here in the *Jew of Malta* Marlowe pinpoints domestic slavery as the most debased form of Mediterranean trading and materialism. The slave market not the citadel is the place in the play where the real nature of Maltese society is laid bare, for here everyone's price is clearly marked on his back. Slavery was also an essential aspect of 16th century Mediterranean society that differentiated it from Northern communities who would no longer dream of enslaving their fellow Europeans. Bondage then forms in Marlowe's play the core of his vision of the Mediterranean, for he follows the ramifications of servitude into moral, political and even metaphysical realms that enable him to present a coherent and specific Mediterranean way of life and to find in the process motives and reactions that suit his characters as typical inhabitants of this part of the globe.

Privateering that was so common in Mediterranean waters,

serves to introduce domestic slavery into the drama, since in the brushes between Catholic and Ottoman vessels the enemy taken was inevitably an infidel or a non-Catholic and so suitable for sale as a slave[3]. In the play therefore all those found on board the Turkish galley captured by Martin Del Bosco, the Spanish Vice Admiral, are quickly sold in the market place, « Grecians, Turks and Afric Moors ». One of these slaves, Ithamore, though called a Turk, having been brought up in Arabia, is actually a Thracian. Marlowe is referring economically here to one of the most dreaded Turkish practices of the time that consisted of demanding tribute from Greece and the Western Balkans in the form of male children who were then brought up as Moslems and made into slaves or Janissaries[4]. Marlowe goes on to stress the nefarious nature of this custom by making Ithamore refer to the ways in which he had helped to enslave even more Christians :

> « setting Christian villages on fire,
> Chaining of eunuchs, binding galley-slaves. » (II, iii, 205-6).

At the same time Ithamore is not only made a slave through the accident of his birth, he is also destined to remain a slave through the inferiority of his nature. Since antiquity it had been held that only those fitted for slavery would endure it, because they lacked the higher parts of the soul and were incapable of self rule[5]. By nature then as well as by upbringing, Ithamore is the ideal passive tool in the hands of whatever master happens to buy him and he can be used quite easily by Barbaras for the Jew's attacks on his personal enemies. Marlowe indicates here some of the more unpleasant consequences of servitude that encouraged the spread of crime and violence.

The criminal aspect of bondage is further emphasized by Ithamore's betrayal of his master, for his nature corresponds to that of the « domestic enemy » as Petrarch called the Eastern slaves in the Italy of his time.[6] Disorderly, lecherous and treacherous, the slave was bound to turn against his master and attack him, if he was offered the opportunity. Ithamore's ready alliance with Bellamira and Pilia-Borza, his immediate agreement to blackmail Barabas and his drunken betrayal of his master's secrets are the inevitable conse-

quence of his slavish state and of his ignoble nature with its inherent knavery and perfidy. In the market place Barabas jokes about a young Turkish slave being tempted to steal or to cut his throat while shaving him, and this expresses actual fears, common at this period in Mediterranean countries, where the presence of a large number of untrustworthy slaves caused a widespread feeling of insecurity. Furthermore no one was immune from the risk of slavery, a Knight of Malta could become a slave overnight if the fortunes of war went against him, a fate wished on Ferneze by Barabas. Although it is true that these perils are presented in a farcical manner, their implications add up to a most pessimistic vision of the hazards and instability of life in this region, multiplied by the omnipresence of bondage in its different forms.

Marlowe not only portrays the different implications bondage could have for the slave, he also explores the moral and mental impact of servitude on the Mediterranean slave owner. The slave owner's mentality tended to be dangerous for public order thanks to his right of life and death over his chattel, for this gave him an exaggerated idea of his apparently unlimited power. Marlowe therefore shows how Barabas' moral irresponsibility and aggressivity increase as his slave carries out his orders obediently, and his dreams of revenge become reality. As his stratagems succeed, so his megalomania increases, so that the Jew comes to brook no opposition whatsoever to his will. His inhuman treatment of Abigail stems from this, since he considers her as a mere object with no personal feelings at all and proceeds to sell her three times over : to the convent, to Lodowick and to Mathias. When her finer nature rebels against such servile usage, his fury knows no bounds and he has no hesitation in killing her, just as he will eliminate Ithamore later. But such apparent omnipotence blurs his lucidity, and part at least of his suicidal trust in Ferneze in the last act can be traced to the effects of absolute power on him as a habitual owner of slaves. Indeed once Ferneze has been delivered into his hands, he regards him as his bondman, and imagines that the Knight will be prepared to accept passively whatever course of action he may propose.

However the reduction of the Knights to subservience by the Jew is to be considered as a perversion of the natural order of things, for the Knights of Saint John are the real slave owners. Indeed his-

torically they were well known as slave traders.[7] Their engagement in constant privateering allowed them to supply the Italian market, Popes included, with slaves required for galleys and other purposes. The result was that Malta became one of the largest slave markets in the Mediterranean, a tax on the sales helping to swell the Knights' income. A further source of funds, according to the play at least, is the extortion of gold from the Jewish merchant community[8]. Although in his opening speech Barabas gives an impression of liberty when he describes the trading network under his control, he turns out to be nothing but a *servus camerae regis,* who must labour for the Knights by disgorging periodically his wealth and then being set to amassing more. Like a true slave he has no desire for full independence, he is content to live under Christian rule, and later he proves incapable of accepting freedom and responsibility as the Governor of the island. He prefers to continue his trading activities, bartering Malta for gold, because his servile mind is unable to conceive of any higher action than toiling for profits.

From this point of view Barabas is a typical Maltese, for life on this Mediterranean island is founded not on natural freedom, but on natural bondage. Servitude has spread like a cancer throughout Maltese society and every inhabitant, from the Knights down, is affected by its grim effects. Their degradation is stressed by the double meaning of the word « slave » in the play, which is used to indicate the demoralized nature of the islanders. All are « base slaves » who, as Barabas says, « will with every water wash to dirt » (I, ii, 219). This helps to explain how Marlowe envisaged the political situation on Malta. Historically the Knights of Malta made a heroic stand against the Ottoman Turks in the Great Siege of 1565, but it seems that for Marlowe a Mediterranean society that buys and sells human beings, would buy and sell its honour, prefer to pay tribute and be the thralls of the Turks rather than wage a costly war. He therefore creates a fictitious, but perfectly logical situation, with a subjected Malta paying tribute to the victorious Turks. Indeed Malta only has thoughts of throwing off the Ottoman yoke when Del Bosco urges the Knights to denounce the treaty with the Sultan, so that he may auction off profitably his Moslem captives. Such decadence serves as an explanation of why the Turkish domination of the Mediterranean progressed so relentlessly from one island to the

next. Selim Calymath is indeed the only character in the play able to appreciate the full value of Malta's strategic position :

> « Environed with the Mediterranean sea,
> Strong countermured with other petty isles,
> And toward Calabria backed by Sicily. » (V, iii, 8-10)

Nevertheless this portrait of Malta, logical though it might be, was at variance with the known facts. The Elizabethan public must have been aware of how this famous siege had really gone[9], so that Marlowe was forced to consider the problem of how the servile society he imagined had after all been able to contain the advance of Islam.

It may be suggested that Marlowe found the answer to his dilemma in the Platonic and Aristotelian vision of slavery as a basic relationship in the cosmos, one by which the demiurge like a wise master « urges towards the Good the irrational *ananke* (i.e. state of slavery) of the material universe ».[10] The slavish Maltese are incapable of choosing the Good of their own volition, but they are guided to it by certain providential interventions. Had it not been for Del Bosco wishing to sell his slaves, and Barabas being determined to take revenge and then selling the island for his own profit, Malta would never have attained the ultimate good, which in this case is the island's liberation from the servitude of Turkish rule. It is true that there is a certain rousing of the Knights of Malta who show some sparks of martial spirit, but nothing is due to their own initiative. The situation is rectified by a higher power, acting not only for the good of Malta, but also in the interests of the whole of Christendom. Thus the final couplet prononced by Ferneze has a deeper significance than the usual cynicism or hypocrisy attributed to it. Ferneze is speaking truer than he knows, for his words are acknowledging the guidance of the demiurge that has moved the servile universe closer to the good in spite of itself. In this manner Marlowe was able to complete his portrait of a debased Malta, and yet fit into that framework the reality of the island's brave independence that raised it above the servitude suggested to the dramatist by the Mediterranean setting,

When we turn to Venice the attitude of the dramatist changes. In the *Jew of Malta* Marlowe was explaining how the courteous Turk, Queen Elizabeth's present ally, came to be defeated by the corrupt Catholics, the allies of Spain, England's chief enemy, whereas Venice in her resistance of Papal power was felt by the English to be almost a Protestant realm. Hence Marlowe's approving reference to Venice as a true bastion of Christendom defying the infidel, when he makes Barabas remark that the Turks were probably making for Venice :

> « With whom they have attempted many times,
> But never could effect their stratagem. » (I,i,163-4).

For if Malta was, according to Marlowe, something of a harlot, giving herself to all three religions in turn, Venice was the peerless Virgin City, never overturned by an outside foe and in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* able to face inner dissensions and to triumph over them.

In Shakespeare's romantic comedy the warlike campaigns of the Mediterranean are presented in a somewhat allegorical guise, for the ferocious struggles of Spain and Islam can be said to be transmuted here into the gallant rivalry of Aragon and Morocco for the hand of Portia. Portia seems the very embodiment of the Serenissima, for like her city she attracts to herself as suitors representatives of all the different trading nations present in Mediterranean waters, but of course she is not destined to be the bride of any other but a Venetian.

The praises of Venice were sung by an admiring Europe. The most beautiful city in the Adriatic, renowned for the stability of her government and her resistance against the inroads of the Ottoman empire, she was, if not the perfect city state, at least one closer to that ideal than any other town in the Mediterranean. « That most glorious, renowned and Virgin Citie of Venice, the Queen of the Christian world, that diamond set in the ring of the Adriatic gulf and the most resplendent mirror of Europe », as Thomas Coryat will proclaim her later[11].

Her fame was further enhanced by the contemporary conviction that it was Venice, not Rome, that had inherited all the great Roman qualities of the past[12]. Venice as a republic and an empire was the

rightful heir to the glories of Mediterranean antiquity. We therefore find Shakespeare attributing Roman qualities to his characters. Antonio is described as possessing « ancient Roman honour » and at the trial he displays the true stoicism of antiquity. Portia shows herself worthy of having inherited the name of Cato's daughter, when she imposes restraint and temperance on her emotions during the casket scenes. Venice was furthermore famous for the Roman sobriety of her merchants and nobles, and though Bassanio feels obliged on his embassy to transgress the rule of plain dress,it is entirely in accordance with this Venetian ideal of conduct that he should be able to reject outward shows and choose the leaden casket[13].

However the setting in the play is a dual one, for Venice was after all a Mediterranean city and therefore subject to the corrupting servitude of the prevailing mercantile materialism that Marlowe had already explored. Shakespeare had then to invent a special location to express the quintessence of the Venetian ideal, and that is Belmont, the haven of the good life, the place where the noble refinement he dreamt of could stand better revealed,in a context of unlimited, almost magical wealth and freedom.

The Rialto, as opposed to Belmont, is depicted therefore as the typical Mediterranean trading centre. Danger persists here, as in Malta, since the natural elements of the sea play hide and seek with Antonio's argosies and install a general atmosphere of instability in the commercial life of the city where the merchant is « even now worth this and now worth nothing » (I, i, 35-6). Antonio waxes and wanes with the fortunes of his fleets, that are his very life as well as his living. Even for the royal merchant there is no bourgeois security to be expected from the Mediterranean, only a continual anxiety and feeling of hazard. Also, like Marlowe's Malta, Venice has allowed trading practices to degenerate so that, as Shylock points out, slavery exists here and was indeed historically one of the foundations of Venice's immense wealth[14]. In the play a passing reference hints that female slaves continue to be exploited in the worst manner, since Launcelot Gobbo is accused of getting a Moor with child. Though the slave trade itself is given no prominence here, it is transformed into a parallel form of servitude which is the flesh bond of usury. The usurer can, as it were, buy his debtor and treat his body with the same callous brutality as the slave owner.

Moreover on the moral plane Shylock, like Barabas, treats his servant and daughter as though they were slaves. In particular he starves Gobbo and regards Jessica as a mere chattel, an inanimate object, that feels nothing apart from *he* wants her to feel, a thing that can be stowed away like his ducats and locked up. He cuts her off from all liberating outside influences and neglects the first duty of a father, which is to arrange for her marriage, refusing thereby to set her free. Treated like a slave, Jessica adopts the conduct of one and takes to flight, carrying with her all the money and jewels she can find.

At the same time, although he vigorously rejects any suggestion of his speaking in the « bondman's key », Shylock, like Barabas, proves a servile soul himself, which helps to explain how easily he is crushed at the trial. Lacking the higher parts of the soul, Shylock is indeed the « unregenerate man » as Ruth Levitsky calls him[15]. The story of Jacob's sheep that he tells to Antonio, illustrates how closely bound he remains to the Old Law that blocks any reception of subtler notions. The Jew seems assimilated here to a certain extent to the primitive nations destined for slavery. His is a moral and mental state of savagery that incapacitates him from seeing any further than the literal meaning of a text or the letter of the law. Hence Antonio's ability to read different meanings into the Old Testament story escapes Shylock completely and this announces the Jew's coming defeat at Portia's hands at the trial. Devoid of the *logos,* the divine spark of reason, Shylock is totally subject to the « muddy vesture of decay », confined to a purely physical and material apprehension of life. It is only logical then that he should act like a « domestic enemy » himself, allowing irrational hatred and a frenzied desire for revenge to acerbate his basest instincts, until he becomes a murderous and subversive force whose action must be halted at all costs.

The comic context of the play saves Shylock from a fate similar to that suffered by Barabas, but his forced conversion can be regarded as a parallel case of the demiurge and the *ananke* of the material world. Lacking reason, Shylock is obliged to accept the guidance of a superior spirit, so that when the Venetians decide on his future, it is as though the demiurge were picking the servile soul up by the scruff of its neck and guiding it forcibly towards the Good. But the great difference is that the power for good in Marlowe's play remains an

occult force, whereas in Shakespeare's work it is materialized and takes the form of the highest qualities of humanity represented by certain Venetians : Antonio and the Duke, and more powerfully by Portia and the spirit of Belmont.

On a first level Belmont corresponds to the reality of the development of 16th century Venice, since it reflects the conquest by the Venetian nobility of the « terraferma » or mainland[16]. They invested their wealth here in land and property and obtained a stable and lasting source of income, superior to the uncertain gains of the merchants of Venice whose riches were won with difficulty from the sea and liable to be engulfed in it. But on a higher plane, Belmont symbolizes the city of the Elect emerging from the welter of life, a place where the joys of heaven can be tasted and the music of the spheres almost heard. It is open to all those who can participate in the *Agape* of love, that takes the form in this play of generosity and lavish spending. Venetian life is characterized by a certain extravagance, typical of Mediterranean luxury. This has not the venality of Malta's courtesans, but is associated with the lively dissipation of Gratiano and the engaging frivolity of the spendthrifts : Bassanio, Lorenzo and Jessica. But what is considered prodigality in Venice, becomes transfigured into munificence in Belmont, for Shakespeare opposes this liberality to the miserliness of Shylock, and assimilates it to bounteousness and magnanimity and above all to a lack of calculation that converts it into the antidote to the besetting sin of the Mediterranean character, that in these plays is materialism with all its attendant greed and avarice.

Generosity is then the secret of the better life attained in Belmont and it is linked with the Covenant of Love by which Portia and the others bind themselves and all they possess to the supreme values of love and friendship, thus accepting a higher servitude that liberates the soul. The best illustration of this is Portia's great speech of submission to her husband, that is followed by a tremendous release of energy that allows her to rescue Antonio and participate in the saving of Shylock. It is Portia who incites the Jew to seek and show mercy, and this noble gesture represents the action of the higher power guiding the lower elements of life to a better understanding of what should be done.

However the power for good being humanized, two major consequences follow : one negative and the other positive. First of all, a demiurge in mortal guise is necessarily imperfect. Its action cannot be entirely successful. For one thing, even Portia herself is not faultless and she can be accused of comporting herself towards Shylock with a certain cruelty. For another, the verdict passed on the Jew seems only to create a new form of slavery for him, since he is compelled, in return for the gift of his life, to labour for others till the end of his days. True he will be toiling for his heirs, so that the final aim is better than the egotistic one he had himself intended when he cast Jessica off, but still the rescue is incomplete and Shylock is not liberated from his inner darkness. We are left with little hope that Shylock's forced conversion will prove any more sincere than the usual Marrano lip-service to Christianity. The failure to integrate Shylock into the brave new world of Belmont, or indeed into that of Venice, seems as frustrating as the exclusion of Ignorance will be from the Celestial City in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Perhaps the basic reason for it is similar ; the being who remains oblivious of the light, as dull as night and as dark as Erebus, has no part to play in a better society and must be left aside.

The other consequence is a happier one : it is the establishment of a symbiosis between Venice and Belmont. Instead of being rigorously separated as a spiritual power and a corrupt material universe must be and are in Marlowe's play, here the two are closely linked and each proves essential to the other. Isolated from Belmont, Venice would sink still deeper into its bondage to venality ; cut off from Venice, Belmont threatens to wither into sterility, as Portia's opening speeches indicate. Belmont needs an influx of energies and a wider field of action for its powers to be wielded at full capacity. So Belmont in the person of Portia must descend to Venice to save it from the worst ravages of materialism, just as Venice must ascend to Belmont to bring to its rather tenuous reality the firm, fleshy humanity of Nerissa's ring. Thanks to this union, this cross-fertilization, Belmont can absorb all that is most vital and fecund in Venice and create a Mediterranean society as it could and should be : refined and generous ; intelligent and active ; bathed in its inimitable sensuality and faithful to its own particular commercial destiny without being a slave to either ; tolerant enough to acknowledge the

shortcomings of humanity but stimulating enough to urge the full development of soul and mind and body. Admittedly Belmont's fragile, poetic beauty is somewhat marred in the process of enlargement by the introduction of rougher, earthier spirits from Venice, such as Gratiano and Launcelot Gobbo, but that is the price that has to be paid for full humanity.

Thus the movement of the two plays takes us from a negative setting, suggestive of a servile humanity incapable of improving itself, to a more positive one illustrating the redeeming effects of the highest qualities of the human soul. The Mediterranean in both cases serves as a microcosm, concentrating within itself every good and bad aspect of human nature, allowing an exemplary lesson to be distilled from its experience that is applicable to all nations.

Sybil TRUCHET

NOTES

1) The doctrinal arguments in favour of slavery are given by David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture,* Cornell U. P., 1966, p. 91-109.
2) *I Tam.,* III, iii, 47-58. Many pamphlets evoke the suffering of these galley slaves, e. g. « John Reynard's deliverance from the captivity of the Turks and his setting free of 266 Christians that were galley slaves », *Harleian Miscellany,* vol. I, p. 190.
3) For an account of the impact of privateering on Mediterranean slavery, see Jacques Heers, *Esclaves et Domestiques dans le Monde médiéval,* Fayard, 1981, p. 23-57 ; Samuel Chew, *The Crescent and the Rose,* New York, 1937, p. 340-386.
4) Paul Coles, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe,* London, 1968, p. 49-54.
5) D. B. Davis, op. cit., p. 50-54.
6) Iris Origo, « The Domestic Enemy : the Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the 14th and 15th Centuries », *Speculum* XXX, 1955, p. 321-366.
7) Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II,* Paris, 1966, vol. 2, p. 176-201.
8) Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy,* Philadelphia, 1946, p. 230-261 describes the flourishing Jewish colony of Malta that shared the fate of the Jewish community of Sicily, expulsed in 1492.
9) Queen Elizabeth ordered prayers to be said for the protection of Malta during the siege, and a thanksgiving was held when the Sultan withdrew his troops, Claire-Eliane Engel, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Malte,* Geneva, 1968, p. 198, 206.

10) G. Vlastos, « Slavery in Plato's Political Theory », *Philosophical Review,* L, 1941, p. 303.
11) Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities,* vol. I, p. 2.
12) William Bowsma, « Venice and the Political Education of Europe », in *Renaissance Venice,* ed. J. R. Hale, London, 1973, p. 453.
13) Ugo Tucci, « The Psychology of the Venetian Merchant in the 16th Century », ibid., p. 346-78.
14) Charles Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale,* Ghent, 1977, Tome 2, p. 1030-I.
15) Ruth M. Levitsky, « Shylock as the Unregenerate Man » *Shakespeare Quarterly* XXVIII, 1977 p. 58-64.
16) Brian Pullan, « The Occupations and Investments of the Venetian Nobility in the Middle and Late 16th Century », *Renaissance Venice* op. cit., p. 379-408.

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